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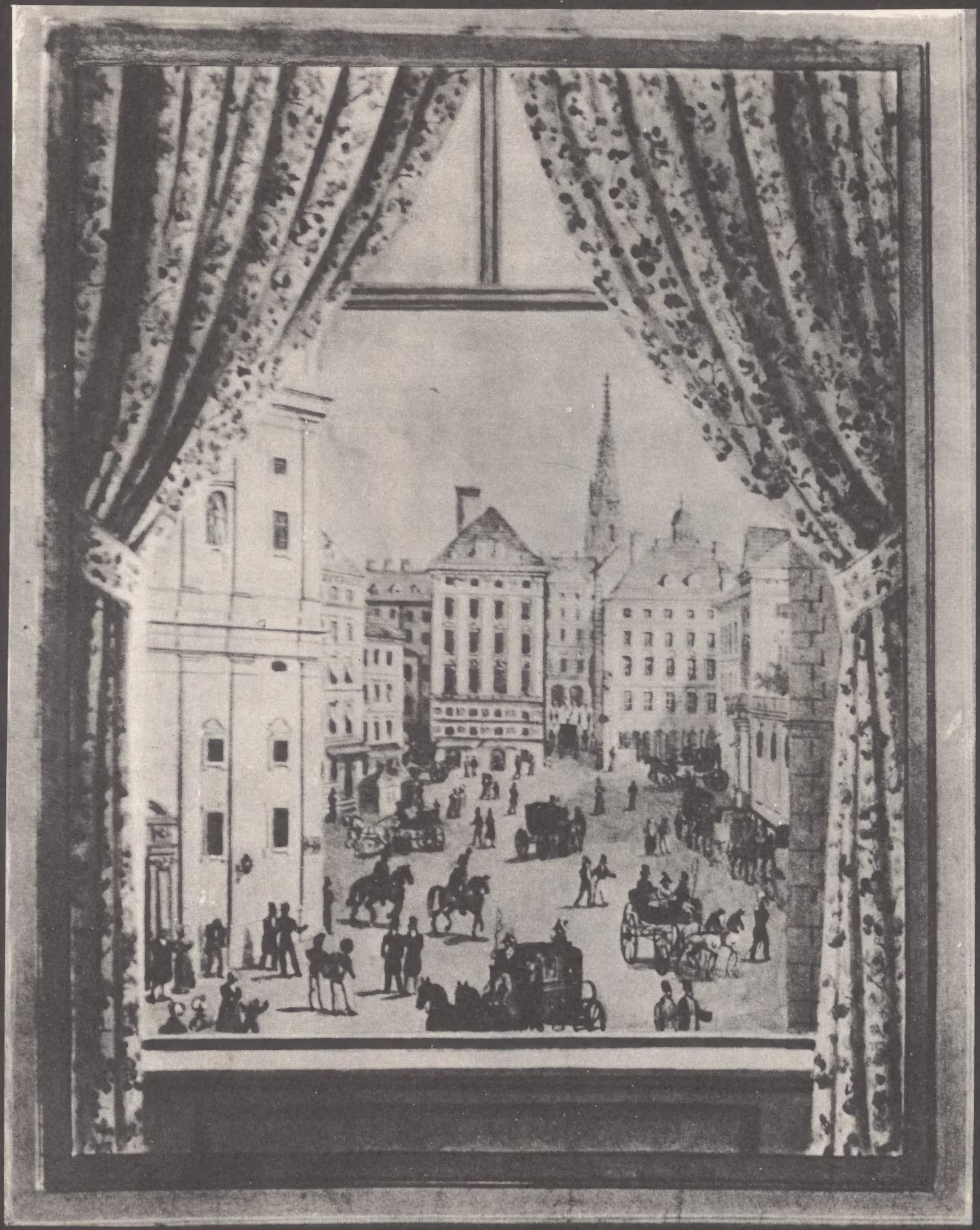
The Complete Symphonies of Haydn
Volume Seven

HAYDN SYMPHONIES NOS. 20-35

ANTAL DORATI • THE PHILHARMONIA HUNGARICA



Joseph Haydn. Anonymous miniature portrait,
Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. It shows Haydn at about the age of fifty (c.1782)

Unless otherwise stated, the photographs in this booklet have been reproduced
from *Joseph Haydn, His Life in Contemporary Pictures* by László Somfai (Faber and Faber).

Booklet Cover: Freyung in Vienna, view from Palais Kinsky, water-colour by Balthasar Wiegand (1771-1846).

Haydn: The Symphonies (20-35)
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE

SYMPHONY No. 20 in C major
1. Allegro molto (3:23)
2. Andante cantabile (4:37)
3. Minuet and Trio (3:53)
4. Presto (2:55)

SIDE TWO

SYMPHONY No. 21 in A major
1. Adagio (4:43)
2. Presto (3:40)
3. Minuet and Trio (3:22)
4. Allegro molto (3:15)

SIDE THREE

SYMPHONY No. 22 in E flat major "Der Philosoph" (1st version)
1. Adagio (7:45)
2. Presto (4:38)
3. Minuet and Trio (3:35)
4. Presto (3:08)

SIDE FOUR

SYMPHONY No. 23 in G major
1. Allegro (4:33)
2. Andante (5:38)
3. Minuet and Trio (3:23)
4. Presto assai (2:00)

SIDE FIVE

SYMPHONY No. 24 in D major
1. Allegro (3:52)
2. Adagio (4:28)
3. Minuet and Trio (3:48)
4. Allegro (3:25)

SIDE SIX

SYMPHONY No. 25 in C major
1. Adagio (5:30)
2. Minuet and Trio (3:03)
3. Presto (3:00)

SYMPHONY No. 26 in D minor "Lamentation"
4. Allegro assai con spirito (5:50)
5. Adagio (6:05)
6. Minuet and Trio (4:50)

SIDE SEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 27 in G major
1. Allegro molto (4:17)
2. Andante siciliano (4:00)
3. Presto (2:40)

SYMPHONY No. 28 in A major
4. Allegro di molto (4:15)
5. Poco Adagio (7:48)
6. Minuet and Trio – Allegro molto (2:35)
7. Presto assai (3:00)

SIDE EIGHT

SYMPHONY No. 29 in E major
1. Allegro di molto (3:40)
2. Andante (5:27)
3. Minuet and Trio – Allegretto (3:55)
4. Presto (3:43)

SYMPHONY No. 30 in C major "Alleluja"
5. Allegro (3:45)
6. Andante (4:00)
7. Tempo di Menuetto, più tosto Allegretto (4:17)

SIDE NINE

SYMPHONY No. 31 in D major "Hornsignal"
1. Allegro (5:25)
2. Adagio (6:41)
3. Minuet and Trio (4:22)
4. Moderato molto (9:48)

SIDE TEN

SYMPHONY No. 32 in C major
1. Allegro molto (3:37)
2. Minuet and Trio (3:56)
3. Adagio ma non troppo (5:35)
4. Presto (2:43)

SIDE ELEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 33 in C major
1. Vivace (4:30)
2. Andante (7:03)
3. Minuet and Trio (2:57)
4. Allegro (2:52)

SYMPHONY No. 34 in D minor (Beginning)
5. Adagio (5:55)
6. Allegro (4:10)

SIDE TWELVE

SYMPHONY No. 34 in D minor (Conclusion)
1. Minuet and Trio – Moderato (3:20)
2. Presto assai (2:22)

SYMPHONY No. 35 in B flat major
3. Allegro di molto (5:03)
4. Andante (7:07)
5. Minuet and Trio – Un poco allegretto (4:05)
6. Presto (3:32)

Antal Dorati.

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers were Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939–40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Wiener Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970. In October 1970, Antal Dorati was appointed chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington D.C., in addition to his commitments with the Stockholm orchestra.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: "... One must get away from here, no matter where to ...".

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

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Notes on Symphonies 20-35 by H. C. Robbins Landon

It is now well known that the 107 symphonies of Haydn are not in strict chronological order. The great Austrian scholar, Eusebius von Mandyczewski, assembled his list of 104 symphonies in 1907, in connection with the opening volumes (Symphonies Nos. 1-40) of the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe*, planned to coincide with the centenary celebrations for Haydn's death in 1909. Mandyczewski left out three works, a lost Symphony in D (known to us from Haydn's thematic *Entwurf-Katalog*, about which more will be said *infra*) and two other works which he believed were, respectively, a string Quartet (Opus I, No. 5) and a *Divertimento* or *Partita* in B-flat-both works which modern scholarship has rightly restored to Haydn's symphonic *oeuvre*. As for the chronological order, Mandyczewski used such autographs as were then available (almost all Haydn's autographs are dated), and with other information - mainly the famous Breitkopf Catalogues - he put together a list, the chronological principle of which, as he stated in his foreword, was not to date a work too early. Since 1907, much new information has come to light, even to the rediscovery of dated Haydn autographs. One such manuscript is Symphony No. 40, which Mandyczewski had placed *c* 1770 on the basis of a manuscript dated 1770 in Göttweig Abbey on the Danube. Subsequently the dated autograph turned up and showed that the work had been written in 1763 which meant that it ought to have been inserted in Mandyczewski's list together with Nos. 12 and 13.

The principal sources for dating Haydn's earlier symphonies are: (1) the autographs, such as have survived; (2) dated contemporary copies and entries in catalogues, such as the Breitkopf Catalogues, which were issued almost every year from 1762 to 1787 and which offered for sale MS. and printed copies of the latest music of all *genres*; (3) the period of entry in Haydn's so-called *Entwurf-Katalog*, a running draft catalogue with incipits which the composer began about 1765 and kept till the end of the century or even to about 1805; the entries are sometimes sporadic and often in blocks. But by using dated autographs and other evidence, we can date fairly precisely the various blocks in the *Entwurf-Katalog*. Unfortunately the first pages are missing, and they contained all the early symphonies, entered into the catalogue by Haydn's copyist, Joseph Elssler (whose son Johann was also to be Haydn's principal music copyist). We know this because the page with which *EK* now begins contains the last entry of this large symphonic group (as it happens, the sixth and final work of a group of six miniature symphonies which are entitled *Scherzandi* on most contemporary manuscripts). The situation with regard to the symphonies included in this album is a chronological spectrum ranging from about 1759 to 1768. The following table will, therefore, place the symphonies in chronological rather than numerical order.

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c 1759-60	27,32,33	After world War II, an old collection of musical manuscripts from the Library of Counts Festetics in Keszthely Castle was deposited in the National Library at Budapest, which institution also houses the Esterházy Archives. When preparing the first critical edition of Haydn's symphonies, which is used for this recording, the writer of these notes ordered microfilms of this Festetics Collection, which included *inter alia* a whole series of early Haydn symphonies, the copies of which were stamped with the signature of a "Fürnberg Obrist Lieut". It was clear that we were dealing with a member of the family for which Haydn wrote his first string quartets in Weinzierl Castle near Melk (Lower Austria). (It is now thought that it was about 1757 that Haydn composed these quartets for Carl Joseph Edler von Fürnberg at Weinzierl.) In 1759 Haydn was engaged as music director to Count Morzin, who had a pretty summer castle at Lukavec in Bohemia. As is well known, Haydn wrote his earliest symphonies for Morzin. It was not known, however, exactly which symphonies Haydn composed at Lukavec, though the composer himself always maintained that what we know as Symphony No. 1 was actually his first work in the form. The newly discovered collection from Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg proved to be a sensation. (1) It was a series of works, obviously by a number of Viennese professional copyists, some of whose hands were already well known to us. The copies all appeared - on the evidence of the paper and watermarks - to be very early, perhaps as early as about 1760. (2) It soon became clear that Haydn himself supervised this series; he made small corrections and one major change (in the horn parts of No. 11's opening movement). (3) It soon developed that the Festetics Collection also owned a whole series of Haydn's very earliest quartets, also with holograph corrections by Haydn himself. (These new quartet sources were the basis of the early works printed in the Collected Edition of Haydn's Quartets currently being published by Faber Music, edited by the present writer and Reginald Barrett-Ayres; the edition will be recorded by the Aeolian Quartet for Argo Records, beginning in 1973). Thus the new symphony series was able to establish (1) which symphonies Haydn wrote for Lukavec, *i.e.* between about 1757 (when he probably began writing symphonies) and May 1761 (when he went to Eisenstadt as *Vice-Capellmeister* to Prince Esterházy); the series cannot have been prepared much later than May 1761, because there is no work included in the MSS. which is known to have been composed after Haydn started to compose for Eisenstadt; (2) it established the textual basis for all these early symphonies. The trumpet and timpani parts of No. 33, which are not always present in early sources, are included in the Fürnberg MS. and are thus indisputably genuine; conversely, Symphony No. 37, which exists in one important MS. with trumpets and timpani, is scored in the Fürnberg MS. only for oboes, horns and strings. The Fürnberg symphony MSS. include Nos. 1-5, 10, 11, 15, 18, 27, 32, 33 and 37, and these are Haydn's earliest works in the form, composed for the Morzin family at Lukavec Castle or in Vienna, where the Count spent the winter. It will be seen that as a result of this discovery, the chronological order of Haydn's first forty symphonies has been rendered rather chaotic. No. 27 is found on page one of the *Entwurf-Katalog*, where it was added in Haydn's hand. There are also numbers that Haydn gave to these entries which are quite revealing. The *EK* starts with what is probably page five of the original numbering, and thus the Lukavec symphonies are mostly missing. The first entry is the last of six so-called *Scherzandi*, miniature symphonies that Haydn included among his larger works in the form. Scherzando No. 6 is in Joseph Elssler's hand but with Haydn's "N 20" over it. No. 27, the next entry, is marked "N 12" (thus it belonged to a much earlier group). The third entry, the *incipit* of No. 29 (composed in 1765), is marked "N 40". The *EK* entries for Nos. 32 and 33 are of no chronological interest because they come in sections which were compiled much later, in one case as late as the early nineteenth century when Haydn was preparing his big

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c. 1761	20	thematic catalogue known as *HV* (*Haydn-Verzeichnis*). Not included in the Fürnberg MSS., this is stylistically an early work of the festive C major variety. We find it on page two of *EK* where it is one of two entries in pencil that Haydn later added to the top left-hand side of the page: Symphony No. 39 (which Haydn numbered "54") and No. 20 (which Haydn numbered "55"). No. "56", a later addition too (but in ink), is a lost D major symphony. The numbering is also interesting; it carries on until the great series of *Sturm und Drang* symphonies (Nos. 45, 46, *etc.*, all entered later by Haydn on the left-hand side of page one of *EK*. The numbering, as far as we can determine, represents the total of Haydn's symphonic output up to 1769 or thereabouts. It includes, of course, all those works for Lukavec, the early symphonies for Eisenstadt, and also some pieces such as the *Scherzandi*, the Overture to *Lo speziale* (listed as Symphony No. 51 in Haydn's hand), and it probably included the Overture to *Acide*, Symphonies "A" and "B" (as we now call them) and possibly the odd work which we know as a *Divertimento* or *Cassatio* (works such as Hoboken II: 8, 9 and 20 exist in eighteenth-century MSS. as 'Sinfonia'). Symphony No. 20, an afterthought as we have seen, may have been written at the transitional point between Lukavec and Eisenstadt, about 1761. Its first dated reference is in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1766.
c. 1761-3	25	This is the only work not in *EK*, not in the Kees Catalogue, and not in *HV*, which Mandyczewski included in the list of 104 symphonies. Since then, none of the authorities has doubted the work's authenticity. It is in the so-called *Quartbuch*, a catalogue of an Austrian monastery that somehow came into Haydn's hands and was corrected by him; he crossed out many works erroneously attributed to him; he left No. 25 under his name. The earliest dated references to the work are the thematic catalogues of Sigmaringen Castle (1766) and Breitkopf (1767). Recently, a reliable old MS., by one of the Viennese copyists whom Haydn sometimes employed, has turned up in the Budapest National Library.
1764	21-24	Dated autographs, Esterházy Archives, Budapest.
1765	28-31	Dated autographs, Esterházy Archives, Budapest. Whereas Nos. 21-24 are missing in *EK* (they were obviously on the missing pages), as is No. 30, Nos. 28, 29 and 31 are found in *EK* on page one. They are entered in the order 29, 21 and 28, which is probably the order in which they were composed, No. 30 being the first of the series and included in the lost opening pages.
c. 1766	34	Also missing in the original *EK* Haydn entered the work in another, much later part of the catalogue, and it is found in the second part of *EK* as well. Probably it figured in the opening, lost pages. The earliest dated reference is the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1767.
1 Dec. 1767	35	Dated autograph, Esterházy Archives, Budapest. Göttweig Monastery had already

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c 1768	26	acquired the work by 1769. Entered by Haydn on page two of *EK* immediately following *Lo speziale* Overture; *Lo speziale* (Carlo Goldoni) opened the new opera house at Eszterháza and the printed libretto is dated "Autumn of 1768". Following the entry for No. 26 is that to No. 41, of which a Joseph Elssler MS. in Prague is written on paper from the Esterházy mill at Lockenhaus which may be dated 1769. The first dated references to No. 26 are two MSS. in Austrian monasteries, Göttweig and Herzogenburg Abbeys, both dated 1772. No. 26 is one of the few works placed too early in the Mandyczewski list.

Haydn's first important position was as music director and chamber composer to Count Ferdinand Maximilian Morzin, who kept an orchestra at Lukavec Castle near Pilsen; it was Carl Joseph Fürnberg who had recommended Haydn to Morzin. Unfortunately we know nothing of the orchestra members, and nothing about Haydn's circumstances at Lukavec except that he received (as he himself related in later years) the salary of 200 Gulden with board, lodging and *Naturalien* (candles, meat, and so on). In recent years, however, many compositions of the Lukavec period have come to light, particularly in Czechoslovakian archives. It turns out that Haydn wrote several kinds of music at Lukavec - not only symphonies but also a large number of works, mostly sextets, for wind band. It seems that the cultivation of wind band music (it was called, in German, *Harmonie-Musique*) was a Bohemian specialty which at once attracted the young and versatile Haydn, who composed avidly in this new and then exotic medium. The experience he gained thereby proved invaluable for his understanding of wind instruments - their individual colours and the peculiar problems of ensemble which arise when a group of them plays together. Another interesting product of the Morzin years is a *Divertimento* in F (Hoboken II:16) for two violins, two *cors anglais,* two bassoons and two horns, perhaps the first recorded use of English horns in Haydn's music; it was to become an instrument peculiarly associated with the composer, much as the clarinet was to be inseparably connected with Mozart. In Haydn's Symphony No. 22 we have an extraordinary example of his use of *cors anglais (vide infra).*

Although we have no list of orchestral members for the Morzin *Capelle* we have, in the extant compositions of the period, an accurate idea of its constitution (though not, of course, the size of the strings). The *Harmonie-Musique* consisted of oboes or *cors anglais*, bassoons and horns; there were no flutes in the *Capelle*. Apart from the *Harmonie-Musique,* Haydn also had at his disposal two trumpets and kettledrums, which he used, at this period, exclusively in festive works in the key of C major; in this album there are three such festive works (Nos. 20, 32, 33), of which the latter two (Nos. 32, 33) are indisputably Morzin symphonies.

The dates of Haydn's tenure as *Musicdirector und Kammercompositor* to Count Morzin are also vague. The authentic biography by G.A.Griesinger (who saw a good deal of Haydn from 1799 to 1809) gives 1759 as the date of the composer's engagement and 1759 as the date of Symphony No. 1. Yet in recent years, a copy of Symphony No. 37 in the Archives of the Princes Schwarzenberg, Castle Böhmisch Krumau (Český Krumlov), has been discovered which is clearly dated "1758" on the titlepage; and No. 37 is also one of the works in the collection of Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg and is thus a Lukavec (or rather a Morzin) symphony. When delivering material about his early compositions to Breitkopf & Härtel (through Griesinger), Haydn thought that he began composing symphonies about 1757, a date which would accord with the evidence of the Schwarzenberg copy of Symphony No. 37 - it generally took at least a year for copies of Haydn's newest symphonies to circulate to the Austro-Hungarian provinces. Perhaps Morzin really engaged Haydn in 1757.

Nor do we know the terminal date. The Count is said not to have allowed the members of his *Capelle* to marry; when Haydn made the dire mistake of marrying Maria Anna Keller (daughter of a wigmaker, who was the brother of a violinist in St.Stephan's Cathedral when Haydn had been a chorister) at St.Stephan's on 26 November 1760, are we to assume that Count Morzin had already dismissed his band? The sources tell us that he was forced to do so for financial reasons.

It seems unlikely that the prudent Haydn would have married secretly; perhaps he received a special dispensation from the Count. Haydn had in fact fallen in love with the younger daughter of Keller, but she had taken the veil in 1756. The composer had taught her music and seems to have been beholden to the family altogether, for Keller persuaded him - Griesinger says "auf dringendes Zureden des Friseurs und aus Dankbarkeit gegen ihm" (at the insistent persuasion of the wigmaker and because of obligation to him) - to marry the eldest daughter, three years his senior. It was a disastrous marriage. We will sum it up in the shocked words of a Swedish visitor to Haydn after the first public performance of *The Creation* at Vienna in 1799. The visitor went to call on Haydn, found the composer out but his wife in; the conversation fell on *The Creation*; in hideous Viennese dialect Maria Anna *née* Keller said, "People say it's

The High Altar of St.Stephen's Cathedral where Haydn was married in 1760. Engraving from Beschreibung der Metropolitankirche zu St.Stephan, *Vienna, 1779. Budapest National Library.*

The High Altar of St. Stephen's Cathedral

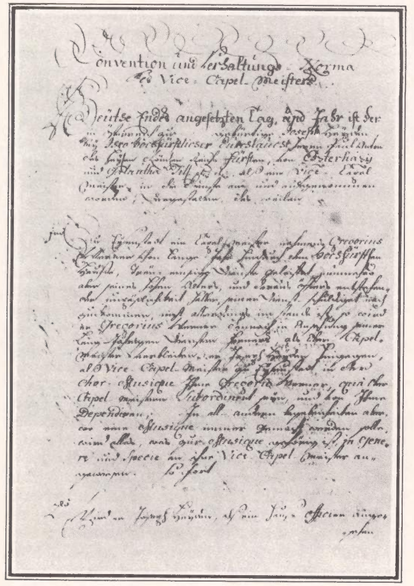
very good; I wouldn't know". The Swedish visitor concluded that "she was neither educated nor musical". Haydn came "and his wife trotted off, surrounded by her dogs and cats. . . .".

We suppose it was in the autumn of 1760 that Morzin decided to abandon his very expensive orchestra perhaps they continued in his service until Easter 1761. The Count spent the winters in Vienna, and it was probably there that Prince Paul Anton Esterházy heard a concert of Haydn's. In the Eisenstadt catalogues, we note that as early as 1760, a new Haydn symphony was acquired. At any rate, as soon as Haydn was free, Prince Esterházy engaged him, as *Vice-Capellmeister,* in May 1761. Haydn was to receive 400 Gulden, or twice that which he had received from Count Morzin, and the usual other benefits. The contract reads as follows:

This day (according to the date hereto appended) Joseph Heyden (sic), native of Rohrau in Austria, is accepted and appointed Vice-Capellmeister in the service of his Serene Highness Prince Paul Anton, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire of Eszterháza and Galantha, etc., subject to conditions here following:

1. Whereas the Capellmeister at Eisenstadt, namely

Page One of Haydn's contract signed on 1st.May, 1761, in Vienna. Budapest, State Archives.



Gregorious Werner, having devoted many years of true and faithful service to the Princely house, is now, on account of his great age and infirmities, unfit to perform the duties incumbent on him, it is hereby declared that the said Gregorious Werner, in consideration of his long services, shall retain the post of Capellmeister, and the said Joseph Heyden as Vice-Capellmeister shall, so far as regards the music of the choir, be subordinate to the Capellmeister and receive his instructions. But in everything else relating to musical performances, and in all that concerns the orchestra, the Vice-Capellmeister shall have the sole direction.

2. The said Joseph Heyden shall be considered and treated as a member of the household Therefore his Serene Highness is graciously pleased to place confidence in his conducting himself as becomes an honourable offical of a princely house. He must be temperate, not showing himself overbearing towards his musicians, but mild and lenient, straightforward and composed. It is especially to be observed that when the orchestra shall be summoned to perform before company, the Vice-Capellmeister and all the musicians shall appear in uniform and the said Joseph Heyden shall take care that he and all the members of his orchestra follow the instructions given, and appear in white stockings, white linen, powdered, and with either a queue or a tiewig.

3. Whereas the other musicians are referred for directions to the said Vice-Capellmeister, he shall therefore take the more care to conduct himself in an exemplary manner, abstaining from undue familiarity and from vulgarity in eating, drinking and conversation, not dispensing with the respect due to him, but acting uprightly and influencing his subordinates to preserve such harmony as is becoming in them, remembering how displeasing the consequences of any discord or dispute would be to his Serene Highness.

4. The said Vice-Capellmeister shall be under obligation to compose such music as his Serene Highness may command, and neither to communicate such compositions to any other person, nor to allow them to be copied, but he shall retain them for the absolute use of his Highness, and not compose for any other person without the knowledge and permission of his Highness.

5. The said Joseph Heyden shall appear daily in the antechamber before and after midday, and inquire whether his Highness is pleased to order a performance of the orchestra. On receipt of his orders he shall communicate them to the other musicians, and take care to be punctual at the appointed time, and to ensure punctuality in his subordinates, making a note of those who arrive late or absent themselves altogether.

6. Should any quarrel or cause of complaint arise, the Vice-Capellmeister shall endeavour to arrange it in order that his Serene Highness may not be incommoded with trifling disputes; but should any more serious difficulty occur, which the said Joseph Heyden is unable to set right, his Serene Highness must then be respectfully called upon to decide the matter.

7. The said Vice-Capellmeister shall take careful charge of all music and musical instruments, and be responsible for any injury that may occur to them from carelessness or neglect.

8. The said Joseph Heyden shall be obliged to instruct the female vocalists, in order that they may not forget in the country that which they have been taught with much effort and expense in Vienna, and, as the said Vice-Capellmeister is proficient on various instruments, he shall take care himself to practise on all with which he is acquainted.

9. A copy of this agreement and instructions shall be given to the said Vice-Capellmeister and his subordinates, in order that he may be able to hold them to their obligations therein established.

10. It is considered unnecessary to set forth in detail the services required of the said Joseph Heyden, more particularly since his Serene Highness is pleased to hope that of his own free will he would strictly observe not only these regulations, but all others that may from time to time be made by his Highness, and that he will place the orchestra on such a footing, and in such good order, that he may bring honour upon himself and deserve the further favour of the Prince his master, who thus confides in his zeal and discretion.

11. A yearly salary of four hundred florins (Gulden) to be received in quarterly payments is hereby bestowed by his Serene Highness upon the said Vice-Capellmeister.

12. In addition, the said Joseph Heyden shall board at the officers' table, or receive a half-Gulden per day in lieu thereof.

13. Finally, this agreement shall hold good for at least three years from May 1, 1761, with the further condition that if at the conclusion of this term the said Joseph Heyden shall desire to leave the service, he shall give his Highness six months' previous notice of his intention.

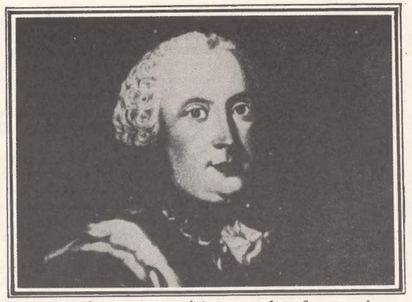
14. His Serene Highness undertakes to keep Joseph Heyden in his service during this time, and should he be satisfied with him, he may look forward to being appointed Capellmeister. This, however, must not be understood to deprive his Serene Highness of the right to dismiss the said Joseph Heyden at the expiration of the term, should he see fit do so.

Duplicate copies of this document shall be executed and exchanged. Given at Vienna this first day of May, 1761.

Ad mandatum Celsissimi Principis

Johann Stifftel, Secret.

This remarkable document has, of course, been the subject of endless discussion, social, musical, and in recent years political: in eastern European countries it is, as one might expect, cited as the perfect example of Capitalistic exploitation of the artist. Without wishing to enter into a Marxist debate on the subject, we would nevertheless observe that as far as Haydn was concerned, he obtained a security from the Esterházy family which enabled him to retire, as an old man, in comfort. Not only did Haydn later witness Mozart's shameful poverty and death, but he could also observe the fate of one of his contemporaries, Carl Ditters (later von Dittersdorf), with whom precisely at this period - Haydn was on friendly terms. The two man, both respected composers in the early 1760s, often listened to music by other masters. "About each new piece", relates Dittersdorf in his autobiography, "that we heard by other composers, we made our judgement *tête-à-tête;* we approved of that which was good and objected to that which required objections". Dittersdorf rose high; he was even raised to the nobility; but that did not prevent him dying in utter poverty, his desk drawer full of symphonies, quartets and harpsichord music that no one would purchase or perform, in an obscure Bohemian village in 1799. He and his family were the guests of a sympathetic Count who literally prevented this once world-famous composer from dying of starvation. With a sure sense of what might one day be his similar fate, Haydn became a great diplomat, the ideal go-between in a situation which, in another man's hands, might have been explosive. (Consider Beethoven's having to organize a similar position. . .) Haydn won the hearts of his musicians and the respect of his Prince. In only one respect did



Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, Haydn's first employer of the Esterházy family.Oil painting from the Esterházy collection. Photo: From the collection of H.C.Robbins Landon, Buggiano/Vienna.

The Bergkirche in Eisenstadt. Unsigned 17th century engraving. Budapest National Museum.

he fail, and that was in the case of the crotchety old Gregor Werner who, as an Establishment composer of severe church music, had perhaps forgotten his own youth when he, too, had written gay secular music and popular organ concertos. To a man of Werner's ideas, Haydn's modern music was complete frippery and frivolry; the old man described his hated *Vice-Capellmeister* as "a mere fop", "a scribbler of songs" (in Austrian dialect *G'sanglmacher*). Just before the angry and jealous Werner died, he wrote a letter to the Prince "from his sick-bed" dated October 1765, in which he accused Haydn of lack of discipline, of a chaotic condition of the music in the choir loft, of the instruments' neglect (Werner even suggests that some had been pilfered), and so forth. It is an appalling document. It called forth a stern reprimand from the Prince - who was now Nicolaus I "The Magnificent", he having succeeded his brother Prince Paul Anton upon the latter's death in 1762. "Finally", reads the reprimand, "*Capel Meister* Haydn is urgently enjoined to apply himself to composition more diligently than heretofore, and especially to write such pieces as can be played on the gamba (baryton), of which pieces we have seen very few up to now; and to be able to judge his diligence, he shall at all times send us the first copy, cleanly and carefully written, of each and every new composition." Haydn rejoined in a characteristically subtle way: by the *Entwurf-Katalog,* to which constant reference has been made in these notes. It showed in a dramatic way that Haydn had, by October 1765, written a very large amount of music for the court at Eisenstadt, also including many baryton works. But being a diplomat, Haydn immediately dashed off some more baryton trios, and on 4 January 1766, Prince Nicolaus writes from Eszterháza Castle to his Estates Manager von Rahier: "... This very moment I received 3 pieces from Hayden (sic), and I am very satisfied with them. You will therefore see that he gets 12 ducats from the cashier's office in my name; tell him at the same time to write 6 more pieces similar to those he sent me, and also 2 solo pieces, and to see that they are sent here at once. . .". By the time Werner died, on 5 March 1766, Haydn's diplomacy had won the day and he was promoted to full *Capellmeister.*

Prince Paul Esterházy, Haydn's first patron, had travelled widely through Italy and Germany and had amassed a large collection of foreign music, especially French vocal music and Italian instrumental music (including works like Vivaldi's *Seasons*). He played the violin and violoncello and took an active interest in the *Capelle,* of which Werner had been *Capellmeister* since 1728. As early as 1759, the Prince had engaged new musicians and also sent his leader, Luigi Tomasini, on a study trip to Venice. When Haydn was appointed, the orchestra was again enlarged; in 1761 the regular instrumental group consisted of one flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three violins and violoncello. There was, moreover, a church *Capelle* which included, apart from the singers, a couple of violins, a violoncello and a double bass. Many of the players were proficient on other instruments also; two new horn players were engaged in 1763, both of whom could play string bass instruments as well. The musicians were generally resident at Eisenstadt from 1761 to 1765, though occasionally they were transported to one of the princely lordships elsewhere. In the autumn of 1764, the whole *Capelle* was taken to the pretty Castle at Kittsee, owned by the Esterházy family, which was across the river from Pressburg (Bratislava, ČSSR). The harpsichord at Kittsee was in ill repair and the organ-builder from Pressburg had to come and adjust it, "for which I paid him two Gulden", wrote Haydn on 20 Nov. 1764.

Musical concerts at Eisenstadt were held by the entire orchestra on Tuesdays and Saturdays from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. "All the musicians are to appear". As long as Wernér was alive, Haydn wisely concentrated on symphonic music, only occasionally venturing to compose vocal music (such as various cantatas for Nicolaus's name-day, 6 December, of which several have survived from the years 1763 and 1764). Haydn sometimes played the violin and sometimes conducted from the harpsichord, giving himself an elaborate solo part in the Esterházy Cantata "Qual dubbio" of 1764. The disposition of the scores for Symphonies Nos. 6-8, the first which Haydn wrote at Eisenstadt in 1761, shows that he required at least three first and three second violins, two violas, two cellos and one double bass (possibly two). He had the possibility of recruiting musicians from the local Parish Church St.Martin, and also from the town of *Thurnermeister;* but in the period 1761-5, Haydn never seems to have required trumpets and drums at Eisenstadt except in an occasional work for the church (such as the *Te Deum* for Prince Nicolaus) and the odd C major symphony. By 1763 there were four rather than two horns, and we shall note the most spectacular use to which Haydn ever put the four horns in the *Symphonie mit dem Hornsignal* (No. 31 of 1765).

In 1766, not only did Werner die and Haydn become *Capellmeister* but Prince Nicolaus opened Eszterháza Castle on the south side of the Neusiedlersee. Gradually the court came to spend increasingly more time at Eszterháza where, in 1768, the Prince inaugurated an opera house with his *Capellmeister's* opera *Lo speziale.* After Werner's death, Haydn turned his full attention to vocal music. The first major work to follow his appointment as Chapel Master was the *Missa Cellensis in honorem Beatissimae Virginis Mariae* the autograph manuscript of which, dated 1766, has recently come to light in Bucharest (it is printed in facsimile in the *Haydn Yearbook* IX). This enormous work, a so-called cantata mass, was apparently written for the pilgrimage church of Mariazell in Styria, for which Haydn was, many years later (1782), to compose the other *Missa Cellensis* which is now known as the"Mariazellermesse". Perhaps the first *Missa Cellensis,* which used to be known as the *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae,* is a private prayer of thanks to the Virgin for its composer's new honour as princely Chapel Master. Following this large mass, Haydn then set to work on an equally large *Stabat Mater* (the first critical edition of which is in the process of publication by Faber Music), which he wrote in 1767. The next year he composed another Mass, alas lost, which was in D minor; next to its *incipit* in *EK,* Haydn wrote the curious title, *Missa Sunt bona mixta malis.* In 1768 or 1769 Haydn then wrote still another Marian Mass, the *Missa in honorem B.V.M.* known as the Great

Organ Mass. It can be seen that he had very little time for symphonies, especially as in 1766, the first small opera for Eisenstadt was composed: *La canterina,* given in the great hall of the Castle for a private audience and then publicly performed in 1767 at Pressburg. All this activity with church and opera meant that the symphonies suddenly dwindled to a trickle. The two works in this album, Nos. 35 and 26, are of 1767 and c. 1768, and the latter shows in a graphic way Haydn's involvement with church music since the death of his predecessor.

Prince Nicolaus "The Magnificent" became Haydn's patron in 1762. The Prince was a highly cultivated man with a despotic side to his nature which it took some time for Haydn to subdue; Nicolaus wrote and spoke beautiful Italian and French, he also knew Latin and of course German; he played with tolerable efficiency an instrument known as the baryton, a kind of viola da gamba with sympathetic vibrating strings. When Haydn's *La canterina* was first given in the garden of the Prince Archbishop of Pressburg in 1767, Esterházy also played on the baryton - no doubt trios or duos (or perhaps even solos) by his already very famous *Capellmeister.* Nicolaus was in fact a passionate music-lover and his special dream was to have regular Italian opera at his court: a dream which, with the services of Haydn and a band of imported Italian singers, the Prince was able to realize in full from 1776 to 1790, when Eszterháza was abandoned after Nicolaus died.

The symphonies here under discussion offer a small cross-section of Haydn's activities with Morzin and then with the Esterházy court from May 1761 to about 1768, when the centre gradually began to shift from Eisenstadt to Eszterháza, and from instrumental music to vocal music - first religious, then operatic.

When Haydn required copies of his Morzin symphonies for Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg, he used the services of various Viennese copyists, some of whom were so accurate that Haydn continued to employ them until the middle of the 1770s. Whether these over-worked gentlemen were always scrupulously honest is another matter. Mozart tells how one of the professional copyists wrote everything by Haydn double. "I really have (Haydn's) latest symphonies", he writes to his father on 15 May 1784 - obviously before he knew Haydn personally. As the Rohrau composer became increasingly famous, the Viennese copyists began to establish a profitable business in selling illegal copies of Haydn symphonies - often from an authentic set of parts which served as the "blueprint" - to anyone who would pay a few Gulden. Haydn himself soon realized that the professional copyists were making a fortune out of his music, and he must have pointed out to Prince Esterházy that (1) there was nothing a composer could do against pirated copies or even pirated prints and (2) it would be better to let Haydn himself do the selling, even if this

The Esterházy Palace at Eisenstadt. Engraving, Budapest National Museum.

View of Eisenstadt (Kismarton). Engraving by Matthias Greischer, 1697. Budapest National Museum.

violated the stipulation that the Prince was to be the sole owner of all his *Capellmeister's* products. It seems clear that Prince Nicolaus soon allowed Haydn a certain leeway in selling official copies of his symphonies, particularly if they were a few years old and not in the Eisenstadt repertoire any longer. Thus we find Haydn selling copies of Symphonies Nos. 21 and 29 (and also No. 14) to Dr.Stocker, a physician from Linz, from whose legacy they were acquired by the St.Florian Monastery in Upper Austria; the copies were made by Joseph Elssler, Haydn's copyist at this period.

The Austrian monasteries were great collectors of Haydn's symphonies. No. 20, a work which circulated less widely among the monasteries than many of its numerical companions, was owned by the Abbeys of Rottenmann and Admont, both in the province of Styria. No. 22, a popular work, was owned by Göttweig (1772), Seitenstetten (1773), Kremsmünster Schlägl and Zwettl; No. 23 by Lambach and Melk as well as Michaelbeuern near Salzburg; No. 26 - another popular work - was collected by Göttweig (1772), Herzogenburg (1772), Schlägl, Kremsmünster, Melk and the Tyrolean Abbey of Stams.

Even these early symphonies soon travelled to northern Italy, and especially Venice. The Biblioteca Marciana owns several interesting sets of Haydn's symphonies made by local copyists from Austrian sources. One set of "XII Sinfonie Del Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn" contains Nos. 1, 18, 9, 3, 5, 19, 37, 25, 33 and 4, while another, "VI Sinfonie Del Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn" includes Nos. 11, 23 a spurious work in C (Hoboken I: C 19; Landon Appendix II[1] No. 19), 10, 5 and 3.

The great German princely houses at Donaueschingen (Fürstenberg), Regensburg (Thurn und Taxis) and Harburg or Wallerstein (Oettingen-Wallerstein) also ordered most of Haydn's latest symphonies from Viennese copyists; both Regensburg and Harburg own copies of Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 34 and 35; almost all the others were owned by one of the two.

Readers of the notes to the other albums of this series will recall that Haydn was soon an immensely popular composer in France; that in Paris his latest symphonies and quartets were eagerly printed; and that such a brisk business in Haydn came into being that it proved profitable for those French publishers to pirate all sorts of spurious works by *seguaci* of Haydn's such as Ditters(dorf), Ordoñez, Leopold Hofmann, Vanhal and especially Haydn's talented brother, Johann Michael, first (c. 1757-61) Chapel Master at Grosswardein (now Oradea Mare in Roumania) and after 1763 *Conzertmeister* in Salzburg. All these spurious works were sold to the French public as genuine Haydn, who of course saw no royalties either from these spurious products or from his own pirated French publications. It was in January 1764 that "Six Symphonies ou Quatuors Dialogués. . . Composés par M[r] Hayd'en (sic) Maître de Musique à Vienne", published by M.de la Chevardière, created a sensation in the Parisian musical world; they were Haydn's first string quartets. Chevardière immediately followed with further sets of Haydn's music, which he probably obtained from Viennese copyists or travelling virtuoso musicians: his second gathering was "Six Sonates en Trio pour deux violons & basse" (1765) followed by another set of "Six Symphonies ou Quatuor (sic) Dialogués" (1766) which included string quartets, a sextet with two horns (Hoboken II; 21) and a spurious *Divertimento* by Carlos d'Ordoñez.

Haydn soon had the opportunity of establishing contact with the French publishers. In November

1) *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn,* London 1955.

1767, Prince Nicolaus Esterházy made a trip to Paris, with an entourage which included his personal secretary, his *Haushofmeister,* his architect, his "Travelling Commissioner" (*Reisekommisär),* five *valets-de-chambre* (among them a barber and a blackamoor named Zibas), his gun-master, a page, two runners and Luigi Tomasini, leader of the band. Prince Nicolaus again visited Versailles, which he had first seen in 1764 and which had been the inspiration for Eszterháza Castle in Hungary. He quitted Paris on 14 November 1767, leaving Tomasini behind to study the musical situation in what was then the unquestioned musical centre of the world. The *Haushofmeister* gave Tomasini the handsome sum of 125 *livres* for his further sojourn.

It is entirely likely that Haydn will have given Tomasini some music to take with him to sell in Paris; perhaps also letters, such as to the German emigré, Jean-Georges Sieber, with whom Haydn was in personal contact in the 1780s. Is it a coincidence that M.de la Chevardière issued in April 1768 (*via* an announcement in the *Mercure de France*) another set of "Six Symphonies ou Quatuor (*sic*) Dialogués"? This time Haydn's new music was entitled *Oeuvre IV* and included Symphony No. 33, a *Divertimento* in G (II:9), and Symphonies 32, 15, "B" (I:108) and 25 - all with the wind parts omitted but in textually accurate copies. From his shop, M.de la Chevardière "Marchand de Musique du Roi, Rue de Roule à la Croix d'Or", circulated Haydn's first works throughout France; he had a principal agent in Lyon at M.Castaud who had a shop opposite the theatre. It was these French prints that first brought Haydn to the attention of English musicians; the string Quartets were rapidly reprinted in London by Bremner.

As a matter of interest we append here a list of the French editions of the symphonies included in this volume; the list has been arranged in chronological order.

Date	*Work(s)*	*Publisher*
Apr.1768	33 *etc.*	M.de la Chevardière Oeuvre IV. *Vide supra.*
Oct.1769	*Six Symphonies:* a spurious work by Herffert; Nos. 29, 28, 9 and 3.	"M.Bailleux, Maître de Musique, rue S.Honoré, à la Règle d'or"; listed as Oeuvre VII. Announced in the *Avantcoureur* on 2 October 1769.
May 1770	No. 22	"Chez le S^{r}. Borrelly Rue S^{t}.Victor vis-à-vis le ferme maison d'un sellier". Announced in the *Affiches, Annonces & Avis divers* on 7 May 1770.
Sept.1770	*Six Symphonies:* No. 30 and five (!) spurious symphonies by, resp., Dussek, anonymous, Michael Haydn (aut. May 1768), Michael Haydn (aut. 25 Jan. 1764), anonymous.	Oeuvre IX, "Chez Madame Berault, Marchande de Musique, Rue de la Comédie Françoise, Faubourg S^{t} Germain au Dieu de l'Harmonie, announced in *Affiches &c.*on 13 Sept.1770.
Dec.1771	*IV Sinfonie è Quartetti* by Haydn (Symphony No. 35) and three spurious works by, resp., Joseph Schmitt, Ditters and Schmitt.	Opéra XII. "Chez M^{r}. Venier Editeur de plusieurs ouvrages de musique, Rue S^{t}.Thomas du Louvre vis-à-vis le Château d'Eau".
May 1772	*Six Sinfonie,* incl. *Divertimento* in F (II: 20), Nos. 59, 34 and two spurious works, one either by J.C.Bach or Mitcha (Mica) and the other by Ditters.	Oeuvre XIV."Chez Madame Berault" &c. *vide supra.*
Feb.1773	*III Sinfonie,* incl. No. 22 in a version which will be discussed *infra* (omitting the opening slow movement), Nos. 58 and No. 39 without the Minuet.	Opéra XV. "Chez M^{r}. Venier, Editeur" &c. *vide supra.*
Mar.1779	*Trois Simphonies,* incl.a spurious symphony by Sarti, and Nos. 20 and 38.	No opus number, but set dedicated to Madame d'Alleray. "Gravées par M^{elle} de Silly. . Chez M^{elle} de Silly, M^{de} de Musique, Rue de Temple, près celle

Hunting with hounds. Engraving by J.E Ridinger (1698-1767)

Date	Work(s)	Publisher
		de Montmorency." M^elle^. de Silly received a new royal privilege for these works on 1 Oct. 1778.

Paris was, of course, not the only centre of publishing, and we find J.J.Hummel, first at Amsterdam and then at Berlin, becoming one of Haydn's principal publishers. At the beginning, Hummel obviously pirated his Haydn works, including spurious ones; later he seems to have been in some kind of touch with the composer. In 1770, Hummel brought out the earliest edition of Haydn's Symphony No. 35 in a collection "Composées de Diverses Auteurs" with works also by Klöffler, Vanhal, J.C.Bach and Toeschi; a few years later, in 1774, he published the Haydn as a single edition. In 1772 Hummel brought out "Trois Simphonies. . .Oeuvre X" by Haydn, which included Nos. 41, a work by Michael Haydn (autograph: 27 September 1766) and No. 20 - naturally Michael's music was always sold as Joseph's, or rather as "M.Haydn" or "Sig. Haydn"; we shall see that Hummel the great pirater of Haydn's muse probably stole the edition of No. 41 from Sieber, while Hummel himself was pirated by Thompson, who brought out No. 20 as well as No. 10 (which had also been published by Hummel) in an edition entitled "Six Symphonies for two violins, two hautboys, two horns, a tenor (viola) and violoncello composed by F.X. Richter, G.Haydn, and K.C.Spangenberg. Pr. 10/6. London. Printed for C. & S. Thompson No. 75, S^t^.Paul's Church Yard" - an edition which was announced about 1775. Another British publisher, Welcker "in Gerrard Street Soho", issued Haydn's Symphony No. 35 together with other symphonies by the Princess Royal of Saxony, Vanhal, Stamitz and Mislevecheck, "the whole collected by Antonio Kammell" and announced in the *Public Advertiser* on 7 January 1773. It was also a British publisher who brought out the first edition of the *Hornsignal* Symphony No. 31 under the title "A concertante Sinfonia". The publisher, William Forster, was already in communication with Haydn about the period when No. 31 was issued (c. 1786) but there is no evidence that the composer had anything to do with the work's tardy publication. About the same time, Sieber in Paris issued the work as "Simphonie périodique No. 19" with the subtitle "Sinfonia Concertante". Apparently Sieber pirated from Forster or perhaps *vice versa*.

The editions of these symphonies were inaccurate, sporadic and mixed up with spurious works; but they spread Haydn's name throughout Europe and were the principal means for listeners outside the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to hear his latest music.

Naturally Haydn's reputation was clouded by having so many dozens of spurious and in part distinctly second-and even third- rate works attached to his name; posterity has eventually sorted out that which is genuine from that which is spurious, and has also established some kind of chronological order; so that, rather grotesquely, we, listening to the first complete commercial recording of Haydn's symphonies, are in a far better position to judge his muse in this form than even the most cultivated and discriminating connoisseur in Paris, who was offered (and who could scarcely have been in a position always to be able to tell the difference between) six spurious Haydn symphonies for every half-dozen genuine articles.

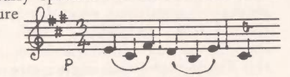
Symphony No. 20 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C (probably *alto*), 2 trumpets, timpani, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. We have seen that this festive C major work does not figure among the known Morzin pieces and that Haydn added it later in his *Entwurf-Katalog*. Naturally there must have been a slight gap between the end of Haydn's tenure with Count Morzin and the beginning of his duties at Eisenstadt in May 1761. We know, for example, that Haydn was soon in some kind of contact with the great Austrian monasteries. The Benedictine Abbey of Göttweig was the first such institution to acquire a Michael Haydn mass (in the late 1750s), and Joseph's music figures there as early as 1762 (Symphonies 3, 4, 5 *etc.*). They went on collecting Haydn's music for years, and it is difficult to believe that the composer had no personal contact with the monastery. Another great Benedictine Abbey, that of Kremsmünster in Upper Austria, also avidly collected Haydn's music beginning with the early quartets which they acquired in the year 1762. When compiling the Elssler Catalogue of 1805 (*HV*), Haydn went through *EK* and made all sorts of notes; beside the *incipit* of the *Applausus* Cantata (1768) he wrote "in lateinischer Sprach bey gelegenheit einer Praelats Wahl zu Krems-Münster" (in the Latin tongue on the occasion of an Abbot's Election at Krems-Münster). We now know that Haydn, who wrote this note after 1800, made a mistake; the Cantata was written for Zwettl Monastery. But Haydn clearly remembered writing something for Kremsmünster, and in fact we know that he had some kind of contact with the Abbey because in the library there is still an authentic copy of Symphony No. 67 (by Joseph Elssler and Johann Schellinger). Among the many Austrian monasteries that collected Haydn, we might single out the Benedictine Abbey of Melk on the Danube, where we find Haydn copies as early as 1765, and a collection of some eighty Haydn symphonies.

This short exposé is by way of a preface to the first festive C major work in this album. We have seen in many other examples that these works, with their high horns and/or trumpets with kettledrums, were often composed for some special occasion, such as the visit to Eszterháza Castle of the Empress Maria Theresa; or to honour an Austrian Field Marshal such as General Laudon. We wonder if Haydn did not occasionally compose a festive symphony of this kind for an Austrian monastery such as Göttweig or Melk or Kremsmünster, particularly about the end of the year 1760 or the beginning of 1761, when he may have been without a position for a month or two. The glittering sound of this symphony would fit well in the *Prunksaal* of one of the great Austrian abbeys, with their stupendous Baroque architecture and elaborate painted ceilings in the manner of Tiepolo. It is generally fruitless to try to match Austrian Baroque to music of the period, and Austrian historians generally prefer to ally Bruckner to S^t^.Florian (even to its interior architecture) rather than Haydn; yet in this slightly impersonal and brilliant C major Symphony there is much of the wordly pomp that surrounded the great Austrian Baroque monastic buildings of the eighteenth century; it was Art for the eye and the intellect.

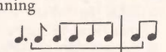
As we have come to expect with Haydn's symphonies of c. 1760, the wind instruments are omitted not only in the slow movement - a graceful-*Andante cantabile* held together with a running second violin part - but also in the Trio of the *Menuet*. The Finale is in a large-scale A-B-A form, the "B" section being in the tonic minor and without trumpets and timpani; the movement shows its finale character in the quick metre (*Presto*, 3/8) but also in the choice of form, and this is the main difference between it and the first movement, which also uses a quick metre (*Allegro molto*, 2/4) but is, of course, in pre-classical sonata form. By pre-classical we mean that although there are even two main subjects, the second one in the dominant, the development section is not that which we know from "high classical" music such as Haydn's *Paris* or *London* Symphonies, or Mozart's mature symphonies. At this period (c. 1760), the development is more in the nature of a contrasting middle section. But unlike the "B" section of the Finale, the middle section of the first movement contains motivic extensions of the previous thematic material and the lead-back to the recapitulation is of much more dramatic proportions than the same passage in the Finale. This accent-

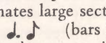
Prince Nikolaus' baryton with the carved head of a Hungarian "hajdú" Budapest. National Museum Collection of Musical Instruments.

uation of the recapitulation by preparing its arrival is, in fact, a hallmark of the later Viennese classical style; here, in No. 20, it is in the nature of a pedal point on the dominant, with soft punctuation from the trumpets and timpani; later, as in No. 102, this soft timpani punctuation will become a thrilling *crescendo* which propels the music into the blazing re-statement of the opening thematic material. That was a quarter-of-a-century later. . . .

Symphony No. 21 in A. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. This is the first of four works of the year 1764, all of which have survived in autograph; No. 21 also survives in authentic performance material by Joseph Elssler (S^t^.Florian Abbey in Upper Austria). It is composed in the old Italian *sonata da chiesa* form, the church sonata of the Corelli period with its entire opening slow movement. Haydn was much attracted to this form in his youth and wrote quartets, string trios and Symphonies Nos. 5, 11, 18, 21, 22, 34 and 49 in this fashion. In the exquisite and formally brilliant *Adagio* of No.21, we notice that the wind instruments have suddenly become vitally important, dividing the whole opening thematic material with the strings. Note, too, the new dynamic mark *mezzo f* which the viola is given when it accompanies the wind instruments (bar 4). The whole *Adagio* is in free form without any double bar, and is a remarkably early specimen of monothematicism: the opening figure

carries the whole movement. After the first section we find this figure in the second violins, and when we reach the dominant, the figure is given to the bass line in a passage of great beauty and intensity (bars 29ff.). The recapitulation introduces the little theme in a breathtaking *pianissimo* and in *stretto* - that is, the theme is brought in, voice by voice, in a "narrow" time interval.

After the melodic and structural intensity of this opening *Adagio*, Haydn needs to provide a huge contrast; he does this by writing a movement marked *Presto* (four-four) in which a tight rhythmic control is felt throughout. The very beginning



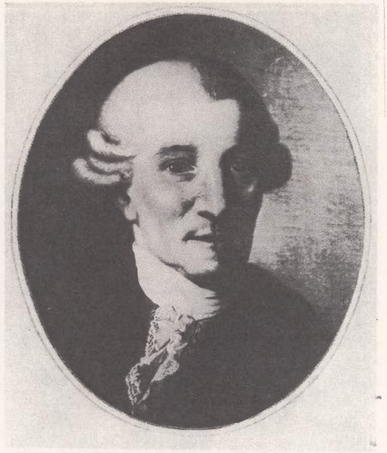
turns out to be what German musicologists call a *Kopfmotif* (nowadays translated as "head motif", a phrase of which Dr.Johnson would not have approved); it dominates large sections of the music, also in its derivative  (bars 21 ff.). As the Symphony progresses we observe an interesting fact: that the highpoint of the work was the opening *Adagio* and that the rest of the Symphony is a gradual descent from that pinnacle; the same may be said to apply to all Haydn's church-sonata symphonies and this,

Detail from the ceiling of the church of Schloss Ludwigsburg, painted by Carlo Carlone c.1720.

essentially, was probably why he abandoned the form. The symphony as such always tended, even in its primitive Italian-opera-overture state, to be head-loaded, that is to say, the greatest intellectual, or in the case of the Italian overtures the noisiest, parts eame at the beginning; the same applied to the Austrian chamber symphony, in which interest centred round the first two movements and the minuet (if there was one) and the finale tapered off and relaxed the intellectual pressure. In a *sonata da chiesa* this element was even more accentuated, especially when the form was applied to the top-heavy Austrian chamber symphony. Haydn of course cannot avoid his own trap, but he finds delightful ways to make the let-down a pleasant one. (It will be noted that the first eight notes of the *Menuet* were taken over *verbatim* by Mozart in his *Eine kleine Nachtmusik*, an interesting case of Mozart assimilating a piece in his youth and later putting it to good use in his mature music). The *Menuet* is no longer a dance movement

but is slightly quicker: the basic beat is now crotchets, and the music is disturbed only by a few "Scottish snaps" (here one would say Hungarian rhythms) in the middle. To see the difference between this and a real minuet, think of the famous movement in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, Act II, which is of course much slower. The Finale is again intensely rhythmic and we notice that it bolsters up the work at the end. Haydn has composed an *Allegro molto* which is formally much more like an opening movement than a Finale; though the thematic material, with its syncopations, would not have done for an opening allegro. To emphasize this first movement feeling - first movement in an ordinary sonata-form movement, of course - Haydn links the rhythmic structure to his previous fast movement: the bracketed portion of the musical example above will be seen to dominate large tracts of the Finale. It is curious to find that Haydn made some rather important changes in this movement after he had completed the autograph; these changes are incorporated in the St.Florian parts and mainly concern enlarged oboe parts (bars 76-80), supplementary oboe phrasing and, at the end, different second horn notes. Since all the orchestral materials of the period 1761-1779 burned up in the great fire at Eszterháza, a source such as St.Florian's for this Symphony is invaluable since it shows that which we must have suspected anyway, that Haydn made many changes in his works which have probably not survived, or survived only in a Bowdlerized way.

Symphony No. 22 in E flat ('Philosoph'). Scoring: 2 *cors anglais*, 2 horns, strings, to which a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo* have been added. Usually, the names attached to Haydn's symphonies are silly if not downright fatuous (*The Bear, The Hen*), but in this case, someone had a rather better idea than usual: there is definitely something of the philosopher in this extraordinary Symphony, which was known under that name in Haydn's lifetime (in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena we find the work listed as *Le Philosoph*). Haydn told his biographer Griesinger that he had once written a symphony in which God the Father talks to an unrepentant sinner: can this "dialogue", as one says nowadays, be the first movement, in chorale prelude form, where the French horns intone the first part of chorale *ff* and the cors anglais answer, also *ff*. We say chorale prelude form, because we seem to be dealing with a chorale and not a sophisticated application of the Vivaldi *ritornello*, though the principles are the same; the chorale (or in Vivaldi language the orchestral *ritornello*) returns in several keys, *viz* I (the opening), V (strings only, after the double bar, 23ff.), IV with *cors anglais* (bars 30ff.), II with *cors anglais* (bars 33f.), III with horns (bars 40f.) and then the recapitulation. By this brief scheme one can see that Haydn has delicately combined an old Baroque tonal scheme with sonata



Joseph Haydn, 1785 by C.L.Seehas.

form. In this deliberate return to antique principles and Baroque virtues, we note the beautiful Corelli -like suspensions with the walking bass for just the strings and *continuo* (bars 50ff., just after the return of the first "dialogue" between French and English horns): as always, this signifies a point of great emotional stress, as it did in the slow movement of *Le Matin* (No. 6).

The highpoint of the Symphony is obviously this opening *Adagio* round (or rather following) which the rest of the work was written. As with No. 21, in the following *Presto* (four-four) we have the strongest contrast, and it is interesting to observe that the same rhythm is used as in No. 21's similar movement. Haydn's sense of tone colour is always aroused when writing for his favourite "bent horns" ("anglais" means actually that rather than its old but inaccurate translation "English"), and we note the delightful and comic effect they produce at the end of exposition and recapitulation. It is typical of Haydn, too, that he should never repeat this fabulous innovation of introducing *cors anglais* into a symphony, though we find him using these nostalgic instruments in chamber music and especially in vocal music (*Stabat Mater* and in several operas, notably *Le pescatrici*) but *always* in the key of E flat major. If any proof were needed that instruments are often associated with keys in the minds of Viennese classical composers, here is an incontrovertible bit of evidence. Note, finally, that this *cor anglais* passage is once again in the same rhythmic pattern as the beginning and as Symphony No. 21's *Presto*.

In No. 22, however, Haydn decides on a different pattern to end the work. The sturdy *Menuetto* is comparable, but whereas in No. 21 the Trio was a quiet A minor section for strings alone, in No. 22's Trio we switch to the *divertimento* pattern with its use of solo wind instruments; instead of worrying about the necessary (or if you will, inbuilt) psychological *decrescendo* inherent in the church-sonata symphony; Haydn makes a virtue of it by lightening the texture still more. This introduction of the *divertimento* technique will become more prominent still in the fabulous *Hornsignal* Symphony composed a year later. In the Finale of No. 22, we have another deliberate attempt to make a virtue out of lightness; in this case by having recourse to the hunt. Nowadays, it is hard for us to imagine the profound effect that *la chasse* had on the Austrian aristocracy of the period (and not only the Austrian, of course). "The hunt", writes Horace Fitzpatrick in his brilliant book *The Horn & Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian tradition 1680-1830* (London 1970, p.20) "stood for all that was desirable in worldly virtue, representing a new embodiment of the old *ritterlich-höfisch* (chivalrous-courtly) ideals which were at the centre of aristocratic thought. As the ceremonial and signal instrument of the hunt, the horn in turn became a symbol for these values. To a nobleman of the time the sound of the horn had the power to excite deep feeling, for it called forth those ideals and aspirations which lay at the very heart of the *adeliches Landleben*." And "courtly country life", if we may coin a translation, is the essence of this Finale with its six-eight metre and its horn calls (also given thereafter to the English horns). It calls forth the rolling hills of the Austro-Hungarian-Bohemian countryside (Hungary, let us add, was not all flat. . .), the galloping horses, the brilliantly attired ladies and gentlemen on them, and of course the pealing *cors de chasse*, the virtues of which Haydn so well understood.

A second version of this symphony, printed by Venier in Paris, has also been recorded and will be presented on a separate record together with several other alternate versions of other works by Haydn.

Symphony No. 23 in G. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. No. 23's opening is typical of its period: terse, tense, unrelaxed, and with hardly any *piano* sections at all (and these only as "echo" effects or to accompany the oboes, as in bars 13f.). The tension in the development section is greatly increased by using a sequential imitation between first and second violins; contrapuntal effects are gradually beginning to become an integral part of Haydn's technique. A quiet *Andante* in which the wind instruments are dropped leads to a *Menuet* laid out as a canon between the upper and lower strings, with the horns filling in the harmonies. This G major

Menuet impressed Haydn's contemporaries and was frequently copied; we find such a minuet movement - also in G major - in Michael Haydn's Symphony which he took from his incidental music to *Die Hochzeit auf der Alm* of 1768, and in Mozart's Symphony K.110 (75b) of 1771, also in G major. Haydn's Trio is also canonic.

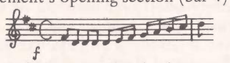
The Finale is a very quick movement *(Presto assai)* in a gigue-like six-eight. It races along with many sudden alternations of *forte* and *piano* and the whirlwind impetus carries it to the very end, where the perpetuum mobile stutters, falters, decreases to *pp* and, after three soft chords and a full bar's rest, comes to a witty *pizzicato* close. From our vantage point, knowing as we do all the hundred odd Haydn symphonies, this humorous, racy type of movement is the one which will eventually - though with a different form - dominate Haydn's thought: not the more serious kind of Finale patterned after the sonata allegro which opens the symphony. (We shall find a fine example of this kind of ending in No. 24). Thus No. 23's Finale, though in the ternary form (a kind of exposition, middle section and recapitulation) that Haydn favours in the 1760s, is in the spirit of the composer's later closing movements.

Symphony No.24 in D. Scoring: flute (only in the slow movement and Trio), 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. The first movement of this work pushes to its outside limit the nervous, exuberant and exhilarating kind of allegro which fills Haydn's music of the 1760s. Of an almost appaling vitality, this music seems to create a new language: what shall we say of that figure at bar 23 which comes *four* times in succession? Or the development section, with those furious semiquavers in the upper strings (the beginning of each bar marked *ff*) and the relentless repeated quavers in the lower strings? It is controlled lunacy and is, naturally, a mannerist stroke that Haydn never repeated. The recapitulation, to cool off the temperature, is *piano* and in the tonic minor. But as a *tour-de-force* this movement is unique and its terrifying intensity did not go unlost on his astute contemporaries.

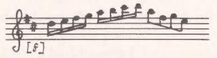
We have noted in the Finale of No. 22 a *divertimento*-like influence; here in the slow movement of No. 24 we have a whole section out of a flute concerto. This is not a completely isolated phenomenon, as witness the slow movement of No. 13 (solo violoncello) and that of No. 26 (solo violin and solo violoncello), not to speak of the *concerto-grosso* symphonies Nos. 6-8. There is even a cadenza and a miniature closing *ritornello*; the movement gives us a taste of what Haydn's lost flute concerto would have sounded like (the "Haydn" flute concerto which is played nowadays is a spurious work by Leopold Hofmann). The *Menuet* is even more thoroughly Austrian than its predecessors, with all sorts of

View of Pressburg. Haydn's ensemble played here in 1767 in the presence of the Imperial Family. Engraving by P.Westermeyer. Budapest National Museum.

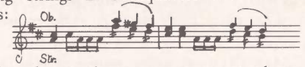
dynamic tricks (the *ff* in horns at the end, like a church bell sounding through the Bruegelian dancing). The Trio is almost a *Ländler* with solo flute again (which had been silent in the minuet) and solo horns. The Finale, in sonata form, is one of Haydn's many experiments as to the character of the concluding movement in the symphony. Here, he uses the language of the opening allegro and also a four-four metre, but the finale character is achieved by other means, *e.g.* the *pp* opening with its unsettling second violin part in repeated semiquavers for nine bars, introducing a change (c sharp) only in the second half of bar 10. Haydn is now also concerned with holding his symphonies together by means of motivic similarities. Here we note that the passage of the first movement's opening section (bar 4)



becomes that furious repeated phrase referred to above

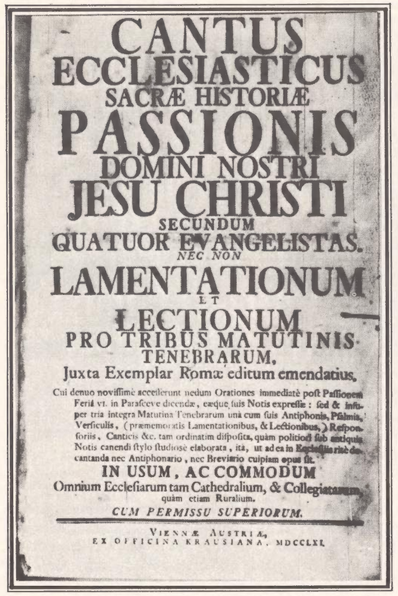


and, in turn, (bar 11)

of the Finale, Haydn was not a composer to copy himself, to lift large movements out of one work and use them in others in the Handelian tradition; but in this Finale we wrote a kind of farewell music which significantly turns up in the same key, and as real "farewell" music, in the last act of *Le pescatrici*, Haydn's delightful comic opera (Carlo Goldoni) written in 1769 and performed at Eszterháza the next year: the orchestration is even the same, too, the darting strings in semiquavers and the sustained oboes:

The bass line is the same, too: repeated quavers on the note A. "Andiamo, partiamo", says Mastricco in the opera, "di cintia allo splendor"[2] So there *is* something "finale"-ish about this symphonic movement, even though it is in first-movement form: a Haydnesque tautology of which we shall find hundreds throughout his music.

Symphony No, 25 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. Haydn, at this period of his career, used the slow introduction sparingly, preferring whole opening slow movements in the *sonata da chiesa* tradition. Here we have a rather extended *Adagio* introduction, opening *pp* and almost as if we were to have a church sonata work; but no, it turns out to stay close to the tonic and ends in a long pedal point on V. The following *Allegro molto* is of that tight rhythmic structure that we have come to know so well. There is an almost

2) Interested readers may examine the passage in the recent publication of the opera by the Haydn-Mozart Presse (Universal Edition), 1971, p.319


CANTUS
ECCLESIASTICUS
SACRÆ HISTORIÆ
PASSIONIS
DOMINI NOSTRI
JESU CHRISTI
SECUNDUM
QUATUOR EVANGELISTAS.
NEC NON
LAMENTATIONUM
ET
LECTIONUM
PRO TRIBUS MATUTINIS
TENEBRARUM,
Juxta Exemplar Romæ editum emendatius,
Cui denuo noviſſimè acceſſerunt nedum Orationes immediatè poſt Paſſionem Feriâ vi. in Paraſceve dicendæ, eæque ſuis Notis expreſſæ: ſed & Inſuper tria integra Matutina Tenebrarum una cum ſuis Antiphonis, Pſalmis, Verſiculis, (præmemoratis Lamentationibus, & Lectionibus,) Reſponſoriis, Canticis &c. tam ordinatim diſpoſita, quam politiori ſub antiquis Notis canendi ſtylo ſtudioſè elaborata, ità, ut ad ea in Eccleſiis rité decantanda nec Antiphonario, nec Breviario cuipiam opus ſit.
IN USUM, AC COMMODUM
Omnium Eccleſiarum tam Cathedralium, & Collegiatarum, quàm etiam Ruralium.
CUM PERMISSU SUPERIORUM.
VIENNÆ AUSTRIÆ,
EX OFFICINA KRAUSIANA. MDCCLXI.

Title Page of a Viennese edition of the Passion Music (1761) as used by Haydn in Symphony No. 26, first movement.The music itself dates from the middle ages.

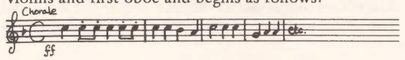
IN DOMINICA
PALMARUM.
E. Aſſi o Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti ſecundũ Matthæ um.
In illo tempo re: dixit Jeſus diſcipu lis ſu is. C.Sci tis,qui a
poſt biduum Paſcha fi et: & fi li us hominis tradetur ut crucifigatur.
E. Tunc congrega ti ſunt principes ſacerdotum, & ſe ni ores popu li,
in atri um principis ſacerdotum qui dicebatur Ca iphas: & conci li um
fe cerunt, ut Jeſum do lo tenerent & occi derent. Dicebant au tem.
T. Non in di e feſto, ne forte tumultus fi e ret in po pu lo.
E. Cùm autem eſſet Je ſus in Betha ni a, in domo Simonis lepro ſi, ac-
ceſſit ad eum mu li er, habens a labaſtrum unguenti pre ti o ſi: & effu-
A
dit

First page of the Passion Music from the 1761 edition (From the author's collection, Buggiano Castello)

perfect example of a *fausse reprise* in the middle section: a "false recapitulation" which happens here shortly after the double bar (at bar 94). Not until we move to F major and then to the dominant of A minor do we realize that we are to experience the typical *fausse reprise*. The real recapitulation occurs at bar 133.

Great is our surprise to hear a *Menuet* as second movement. Is this to be one of the few times in Haydn's symphonies when the positions of the minuet and slow movement are reversed (Symphonies "B", 32, 44)? The Trio is again like a *divertimento*, with solo parts throughout for the oboes and horns. By the time the third movement (*Presto*) is under way, we realize to our astonishment that Haydn has simply done away with the slow movement altogether. The Finale turns out to be a terse two-four movement in abbreviated sonata form, the development and recapitulation being skilfully merged and the main theme being introduced with itself in canon between the top and bottom lines, a small motif from the exposition( )serving as a sort of counter-subject. The whole symphony, in its extreme brevity and telescoped form (no slow movement, Finale with merged development and reprise), suggests the theatre; like a similar piece in C major of 1762, Symphony No. 9, we wonder if No. 25 was also not originally the Overture to one of Haydn's short operas (*commedie*) given in 1762 of which, except for fragments of *La Marchesa Nespola*, only the names have survived; or perhaps No. 25 opened one of the Esterházy Birthday Cantatas of the early 1760s.

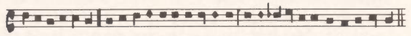
Symphony No. 26 in D minor ("Lamentatione"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. The first movement of the powerful work uses an old Passion play of mediaeval times. To introduce it, the music begins with a series of jagged syncopations which end in the tonic minor. The Passion melody itself is concealed in the second violins and first oboe and begins as follows:



Here we have the whole drama of Christ's Passion enacted before us by the various participants. We include here the title page of the Passion music, one of many editions which Haydn can have used (ours is dated Vienna 1761), and also the first page of music, from which readers may study the original from which Haydn took this incredibly bold idea. The participants are abbreviated as E (Evangelist), X (Christ) and T (*Turbae,* or *Vox populi*); the "T" are marked "Jud:" (*Juden* =Jews*) in some MSS., e.g.* in the Herzogenburg copy of this Symphony (the first page of the *Violino 2 do* part is reproduced as the frontispiece of Vol. II, Symphonies 13-27, of the Philharmonic Critical Edition of the Complete Symphonies).

Haydn even continues the drama in the music, for the strings rush up the B flat major scale (bar 37), obviously signifying the cries of "Crucify Him, crucify Him! " In the recapitulation, the horn also takes part in the proceedings, now that the music has turned from D minor to D major.

The wildness of the first movement changes in the ensuing *Adagio*. Haydn uses as his principal subject one of the "alphabet Lamentations" found in the same print containing the four Passions, an old Gregorian chant which attracted Haydn throughout his life:


A (——) leph. In- cipit lamentatio Jeremiae Prophetae

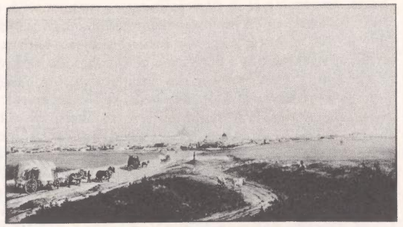
We find the "Incipit Lamentatio" in an early wind band *Divertimento* in F (The Trio), also in the Trio of the "Farewell" Symphony and the Trio of Symphony No. 80. The second movement of No. 26 is treated formally in much the same way as the chorale prelude of No. 22's opening movement - the chorale enters at various fixed points. The woodwind and horns are used very sparingly so that when they enter with the final statement of the chorale, it gives the same kind of halo to the music as the strings in Christ's recitatives in the Bach *Passion according to St.Matthew*.

The Symphony ends with a curious *Menuet* which combines Viennese charm with a ferocious *stretto* imitation on the main subject strongly looking forward to a similar *stretto* in Mozart's great *Adagio & Fugue* K. 546 (426).

Symphony No. 27 in G. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This Haydn Symphony had the distinction of being erroneously discovered in 1946. At Freck Castle near what used to be Hermannstadt in the Province of Transylvania (now Sibiu in Roumania), they discovered this work in the musical library of Baron Brukenthal. They quite rightly thought that they had a genuine Haydn symphony in front of them, and on 29 January 1950 the newly discovered work was played at Bucharest by the Philharmonic State Orchestra and subsequently recorded as the *Hermannstädter Symphonie*. It was some years before the West could acquire the *incipit* of the work, and not until 1960 that the writer of these notes could finally examine the source; it is a copy of No. 27 dated 1786.

A sturdy and heavily symphonic first movement opens this Lukavec work, whose repeated semiquavers in the second violins and marching bass quavers are typical of the Haydn of this period. The solid inner parts and the "rocketing" theme of the violin show that Haydn was not unacquainted with the Mannheim school, though he abhored their effects and at this period one of the very few big "Mannheim" *crescendi* is found at the beginning of Symphony No. 1 and hardly again; "rocket" in Mannheim language was a theme that moves upwards - in this case a very slow - moving *force de frappe*. . . The second movement, without the wind parts, is a *siciliano* in lilting six-eight motion, as Italian an *Andante* as was ever composed in Naples or Palermo: extraordinary how Haydn, whose knowledge of Italy was exclusively at second hand (*e.g. via* his mistress, Luigia Polzelli), could so magically recapture the blue skies and dancing waters that he would never see; he provides us with several such Italian serenades (though his most famous one, from the string Quartet Op. 3, turns out to be, like the whole set, by a German monk named Roman Hofstetter), not least in the ravishing Concerti for the King of Naples (1786). The terse Finale (*Presto*) reminds us once again that even at this early stage of his career - this work cannot be later than mid-1761 - Haydn's sense of timing is impeccable. A heavily symphonic first movement leads to an Italian *siciliano* as light as a feather, and the whole work is concluded by a swift and delicate last movement in three-eight. A typical work in which the symphonic element decreases as the work continues but whose melodic highpoint is the slow movement; that is why there are hardly any tunes at all in the flanking movements (but rather subjects). Like Leonardo, Haydn might have praised *Deo natematico. . .*

Symphony No.28 in A. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. The main subject is laid out in such a way that until bar six the listener without a score cannot tell that the music is not in six-eight time; in fact it is in three-four and in bar six, Haydn writes an unequivocal three-four. Apart from this experiment, the whole *Allegro di molto* is built upon this first subject or upon derivatives of it (melodic and rhythmic; it is one of the most intellectual of all these opening movements). Possibly Haydn regarded it as the prelude to the extraordinary slow movement, which sounds as if it had programmatic connotations. It is another "dialogue"


View of Vienna, 1817 by Jacob Alt.

similar to the opening of No. 22, but here only for strings (the violins muted). The conversation is between the tutti strings, marked *pp*, and the violins, who have a spiky little answer, marked *staccato* and with tall staccato dots as well. And the passage that repeats itself like a musical clock (bars 27-29) sounds like music to some play; it could have been so, for Prince Esterházy soon began to invite groups of strolling players to Eisenstadt and later to Eszterháza, where they took up residence for many months at a time. In 1765, the year which is written on the autograph of this Symphony, there did actually arrive at Eisenstadt the *Schulz Comique Compagnie* who stayed from 1 April to the end of May 1765 and received a weekly salary of 100 Gulden and a bonus of 200 Gulden (*i.e.* double the normal salary, a very handsome gesture by Prince Nicolaus). Their repertoires consisted mostly of improvised plays and "buffooneries", *i.e.* pieces in the great Austrian *Hanswurst* tradition. We wonder if this witty and totally unconventional *Poco Adagio* might not refer to some action in a Hanswurst play as acted by Madame Schulz and her company on the stage at Eisenstadt Castle that year.

Perhaps that is also the explanation for the even more unconventional *Menuet* which is marked *Allegro molto* and uses the device of switching from open to fingered string such as would be immortalized in the "frog" movement of Opus 50, No. 6, the great Quartet in D from the set Haydn dedicated to the King of Prussia. The Trio is like a lost Balkan tune sounding far across the *puszta*; it is Gypsy music and has in it the rich aroma of eastern Europe. The Germans loathed it. J.A.Hiller, in a weekly Leipzig periodical called *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, die Musik betreffend , auf das Jahr 1770,* wrote:

(This) Symphony has been put into a bearable form not long ago by one of our (Leipzig) composers and the excrescences (Auswüchse) removed; the last movement in six-eight time has been left out of the print (from Paris; *vide supra*) altogether; it would have been better to have omitted the silly trio[3] together with the minuet!

There is some evidence that the Finale was added later; in the autograph (Prussian State Library, Berlin), it is missing, as it is in a very early (1766) copy of the work from Kremsier (Kroměříž) Castle, Czechoslovakia. If this be true, it increases the suspicion that the work was originally a three-movement overture to a play. The Finale is a spirited gigue-like *Presto assai* which brings down to earth the fancies of the middle movements and especially the Minuet.

Symphony No. 29 in E. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. E major is always a key of particular radiance in Haydn, whether in one of these early symphonies or as the beginning to Part III of *The Creation*. Here in the opening *Allegro di molto* we have a typically sophisticated case of a singing allegro, a great speciality of the Viennese chamber symphony. Haydn has divided up the melody between strings and oboes, which increases the chamber quality of the music. We are worlds away from the big symphonic effects of Mannheim or indeed J.C.Bach of the Italian period. Here is a new kind of opening movement which makes an enlarged piece of chamber music out of the symphony; even the *forte* passages are transparently scored. In the development section there is a beautiful "Baroque" sequence based on the main subject. It is this kind of movement in which J.B.Vanhal would specialize. (Altogether Vanhal was Haydn's best follower and it is a tragedy that the Bohemian went mad for a long period after showing such immense promise in the 1770s.)

The second movement divides up the melody just as the first subject of the opening movement had been given two oboes and strings; but here Haydn separates the melody between first and second violins almost phrase by phrase. The same Hiller thoroughly disapproved of this effect too, he called it "auf eine lächerliche Art" (in a ridiculous fashion). An interesting and very characteristic passage is the long series of syncopations at the end of both main sections and in the middle as well. The bass line "walks" along with the main rhythm while the violins are a quaver "off". It is an effect that Haydn much relished in the 1760s and 1770s, and very often he marks the bass line with tall staccato strokes to show that it must stay on the beat and accent the basic rhythm.

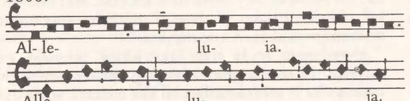
Here again it is the Trio which provides the surprise. It comes after a singing minuet where the basic pulse is crotchets but all the melodic work uses many quavers (thus it is somewhat slower than, say that of No. 21). It hardly prepares us for the sombre and secretive beauty of the strongly Balkan Trio (note the abrupt modulation from the tonic to the dominant *minor*). The weird atmosphere of this little Trio is enhanced by the dark-hued pedal point in the

3) Haydn also used the tune of the Trio in a Duet for 2 barytons and bass, where it comes in D minor. *H.C.R.L.*

horns and the total absence of any melody whatever.

We have seen that the opening of this Symphony was almost like a piece of chamber music, a "singing allegro" in the Viennese chamber symphonic tradition. The Finale of No. 29 is the highpoint of the work, and thus Haydn has cleverly managed to reverse completely the normal *decrescendo* pattern of the average symphony. Here is Haydn at his most aggressive and brilliant; there is only one small episode in *piano* (beginning of the middle section, where the viola is marked *poco forte* because it must take over the function of the bass line); otherwise the entire movement is *forte* and the bass line in crotchets hammers away throughout most of the movement. It is a stupendous example of the nervous energy which begins more and more to consume these quick movements. The *forte* unison opening is an effect that Haydn later used frequently in his first movements of the period c.1771-4 (see Symphonies 36-48 and 49-56 of this present series for a number of such openings, *e.g.* Nos. 44, 46, 51, 52, 56). We may now observe in retrospect how carefully the composer has worked out the preceding movements so that this Finale will stand out in the listener's mind as the climax of the Symphony.

Symphony No. 30 in C ("Alleluja"). Scoring: 1 flute (in second and third movements), 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is another work in which the first movement is based on an old Gregorian chant, in this case on the "Alleluja" melody for Easter. Students of Gregorian chant know that many of the melodies were corrupted; they have been restored by painstaking scholarship to the original versions which may be consulted in the great *Liber Usualis*[4] In the eighteenth-century these chants were often printed in their corrupted versions, and it was the corrupted version of this "Alleluja" which was known to Austrian Catholics of Haydn's period. The opening note has been changed characteristically from *la* to *sol*, thus making a tonal concept, while pauses have been added, rendering the old, asymmetrical chant symmetrical: a) is the version of *Liber Usualis*, while b) is from the Brixen *Compendiosa* of 1806:



Mozart also used the "corrupt" version of this melody for his delightful Canon on the "Alleluja" melody, K.553 (September 1788, when he hardly had any reason to raise his voice in thanks).

As in all these uses of Gregorian chants, Haydn conceals the melody in the second violin and wind parts, overlaying it in typical Baroque manner with a heavily ornamented line in the first violins. But in No. 30, it will be noted that the second subject, with its trills, is nothing but a derivative of the melody and so is the long sequence in the development section based on the first four notes of the chant. In the recapitulation, the theme is brought out of its obscurity and given to the solo wind band, who thunder it out *forte*. This is perhaps the place to mention that there was a set of lost trumpet and timpani parts to this work which Haydn may have added later: they are mentioned in the Kees Catalogue (many of the MSS. exist, but alas this one does not; Kees was a wealthy dilettante who kept a large orchestra in Vienna and was a friend of Haydn's) and also in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1773; probably they could be fairly easily reconstructed, but we have preferred to record the original version as we have it from Haydn's autograph MS. of 1765.

The slow movement with an elaborate solo flute part, marks the beginning of a new type which we will encounter frequently. Its main features are the use of a dotted upbeat and the pert, almost prim nature of the melodic line; also a predilection for two-four metre and two-part harmony (or at most very transparent harmonic support). There are several examples in the years following 1765, especially in Haydn's operas, but also in the famous "schoolmaster" *Adagio* from Symphony No. 55 (1774).

The third movement combines the minuet with a rondo finale and is marked "Tempo di Menuetto, più tosto Allegretto" (which is in itself an interesting commentary on the tempo of the usual minuet). The form is not quite that of a classical rondo, for only one repeat of the "A" section is missing.

A (subdivided a-b-a) - B (solo flute and strings in F, also a-b-a) - C (A minor, with oboes and without flute or horns) - A with Coda.

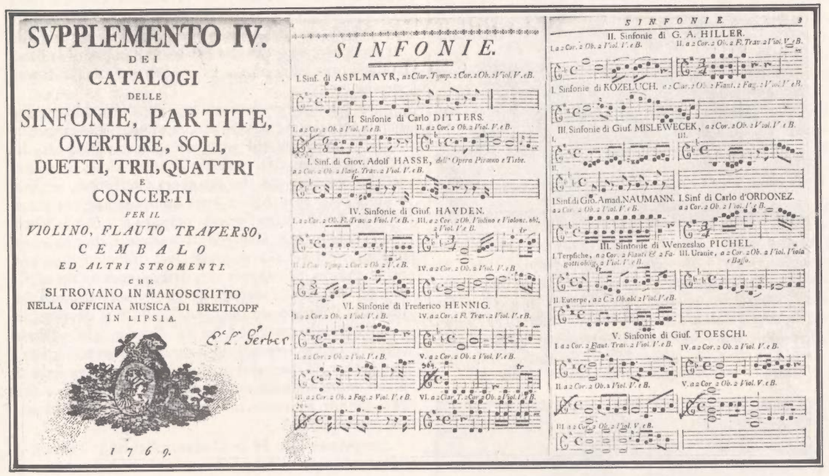
The flute appears only in the "B" section; altogether the orchestration of this quietly confident Finale is particularly felicitous throughout; the wind instruments have now become completely integrated into the whole scheme, and although Haydn will occasionally leave them out of slow movements (as in Nos. 31 and 35, *vide infra*) it is then for some particular reason, *e.g.* to save the horns. We see, for example, that although there are a flute and two oboes in the slow movement of No. 30, there are no horns; this is because of the prominent part assigned to them both in the first and third movements. Haydn, being *inter alia* a brassplayer himself, was always careful not to overtax his horn and trumpet players.

This must have been a favourite piece, at least the "Alleluja" section, with Prince Esterházy; for we find it as a baryton trio (No. 64 in the list of *HV*) transposed into D major. The baryton trios often

4) *Liber Usualis Missae et Officii,* Ex Editione Vaticana Adamussim Excerpto Parisiis, Tornaci, Romae (1936).

A baryton by Daniel Achatius Stadlman, Vienna 1732. It is possible that this was Haydn's baryton.Lent by the Bibliothek der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. It is in the Kunsthistorical Museum, Vienna.

incorporated Nicolaus's favourite music, *e.g.* an opera aria ("Che farò" from Gluck's *Orfeo*) or an admired symphony or *divertimento* for wind band.

Symphony No. 31 in D ("Hornsignal"). Scoring: flute, 2 oboes, 1 bassoon, 4 horns, strings, solo violin, solo violoncello, solo double bass (and harpsichord *continuo*). There are two such hunting works of this period, both containing the unusual four horns as well as the flute and solo strings: Nos. 31 and 72. It is now believed that No. 72, of which no early dated source exists, was the first of the two and was possibly composed in 1763, to celebrate the engagement of two new horn players (making a total of four). At the beginning of his tenure as *Vice-Capellmeister* Haydn had only two horns at his disposal; in the year 1763, two new horn players were engaged: Franz Reiner and Carl Franz, the latter becoming a famous virtuoso on the baryton. In that year we have one dated Symphony with four horns, No. 13. In 1765, the horn players at Eisenstadt were different. Franz Reiner had only stayed the year 1763, and in 1765 Johann Knoblauch (who had been engaged in 1762) died; but in 1765 two new horn players were engaged, Johann May and Franz

Title page and Haydn's symphony listed in the 1769 catalogue of the Leipzig publisher, Breitkopf. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Bibliothek der Vienna. Photo from the collection of H.C.Robbins Landon, Buggiano/Vienna.

Stamitz. We suggest that Symphony No. 31 was composed to celebrate their arrival.

The "hornsignal" that opens the work is in two sections, one a fanfare of the usual type but the other a hunting signal of very old heritage which announced a ceremonial battue. With its octave skip and the dotted pattern on which it concludes, it was the characteristic hunting signal for the *Herrenjagd*, and Haydn also used it in another work, the recently discovered *Cassatio* for four horns and strings from the Clam-Gallas Archives in Prague[5].

Two technical points emerge from a study of the four horn parts. One is that the two groups (horns I-II and horns III-IV) must have been placed sufficiently far apart from each other for Haydn's constant "echo" effects to make not only a sonic but also a visual impression; perhaps the pair faced each other across the other members of the orchestra. The second point is the modern way in which Haydn writes *viz* $\overset{\text{I}}{\text{III}}\ \overset{\text{II}}{\text{IV}}$; that is, the high horns are I and III, the 'secundarius" parts II and IV, which means that chords are often spaced I. III. II. IV. or even I. III. IV. II.

The striking signals that open the movement do not appear at the beginning of the recapitulation, which starts in D *minor* and *piano*, and returns to the opening material with the *second* part of the hornsignal (the one with the octave jump); while the fanfares are used to end the movement. It is altogether fascinating to observe with what taste and formal judgement Haydn has incorporated the horns and their battue signals into this movement, apart from using the solo flute in a concerto-like way.

In the first movement, all four horns were pitched in D; in the *Adagio* they are separated into two pairs, one in D and one in G, which means that they can play in the tonic (G) as well as the dominant (D). The other wind instruments are silent, but in this beautiful concerto movement, we are treated not only to a virtuoso treatment of the horns (also the second, which shows off unabashedly at the beginning of the second part) but also to an intricate part for solo violin and an equally taxing rôle for the violoncello.

5) Edited by the writer of these notes, the *Cassatio* is published as "Dieto musicale" No. 66 by Doblinger Verlag, Vienna.

The third movement is one of those irresistible minuets of which Haydn's music is full, bursting with energy and with a quality which can only be described as dance-like (it is as bad as that dreadful word "painterly" but it seems that neither can be avoided). It carries the listener with it as surely as any waltz by Johann Strauss or a Csárdás by Gypsy fiddlers. In the Trio the oboes are used in delightful consort with the horns. This movement might be used as a textbook exercise on the fine art of orchestration. We would draw attention to two features; (1) how sparingly Haydn uses the violins here, having them enter three times with great effect after they have paused when the oboes and horns play together; (2) how Haydn uses the flute only to double the first horn and only in two "entries", at the end of each section. It is all immaculately written and with that infallible sense of economy: once when as an old gentleman, Haydn was examining the first allegro of a symphony by a pupil, he found a long section therein during which the wind instruments paused. He said something pleasant to the pupil and then added, half jokingly: "Pauses are the most difficult of all to write: you were quite right to remember what a great effect is made by a longer stretch of *piano*" (We have this story from the pen of an eyewitness, the Swedish diplomat Fredrik Samuel Silverstolpe.)

The Finale is a set of slow (*Moderato molto*) variations, with the following scheme: the theme (strings in two-part harmony). Var. 1: solo oboes, horns III-IV, strings. Var. 2: solo violoncello, strings. Var. 3: solo flute, strings. Var. 4: four horns *soli* (a fantastically difficult section: when Toscanini conducted this Symphony with the N.B.C.Symphony, he had to omit this section; the N.B.C. horns simply could not play it; it is an interesting comment how times have changed in the last generation, for nowadays one could find several dozen horn players in New York who could negotiate this part with complete ease); the strings are marked *pianissimo*. Var. 5: solo violin, strings. Var. 6: *tutti* but softly. Var. 7: *violone* (double bass) solo, strings; this variation provides us with a sad reminder that Haydn wrote a double bass concerto soon after he went to Eisenstadt; alas, it seems to be irretrievably lost.

The *Hornsignal* Symphony contains one special surprise for the listener. Having gone trough seven variations, the music now modulates from the tonic minor to Section V, at which point the tempo jumps to *Presto*. This little epilogue, similar to that of No. 72, has nothing to do with any of the foregoing material and introduces a new theme which sounds like the *Kehraus* (go-home) of a contradance series. We are therefore quite unprepared for the last seven bars: a literal repetition of the horn call that began and ended the first movement. No device could have better cemented the loose construction of the Finale to the rest of the work.

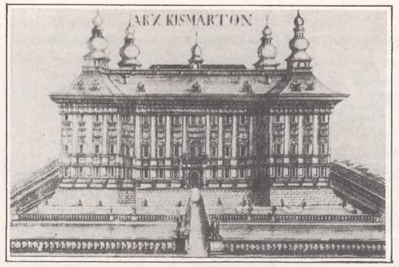
Space prohibits an exposition of the many delights to be found in No. 31; suffice it to say that ingenuity and charm have seldom been better wedded by Haydn than in this light-hearted and gay music. The Symphony represents, in a way, the composer's farewell to youth; for in the next decades he was never quite able to recapture the deep-seated joy of this period and the Symphony that so graciously ends it.

Symphony No. 32 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C (probably *alto*), 2 trumpets (*clarini*) in C, timpani, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. A brisk, festive Symphony for Lukavec Castle, the *Allegro molto* of which shows its period by having the second subject in the dominant *minor* as in Symphony No. 1. The enormous energy is already in full abundance, also the fastidious orchestration: notice the single high c3 in trumpet which stabs through the texture at bar 154. Haydn's impeccable sense of form is also in high evidence: having used the "theme song" of the second subject for the last part of the development section (bars 113ff.), Haydn simply omits it entirely in the recapitulation.

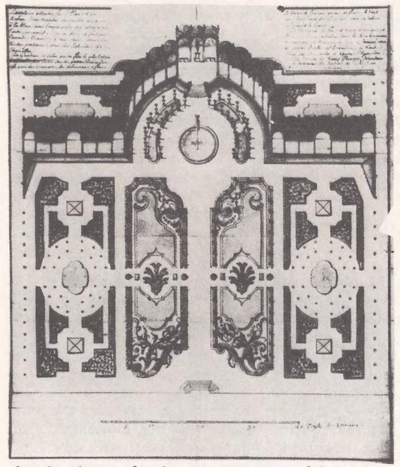
The *Minuet*, as it is entitled on the authentic Budapest source from the library of Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg, comes second and has a French dotted pattern that gives it a massive sound. The Trio is in the tonic minor; it is a rather restrained and sober section for strings only, the scoring also of the ensuing slow movement (*Adagio ma non troppo*). Haydn's Baroque heritage is strongly felt in this *Adagio*, which is firmly rooted in the Italo-Austrian tradition of the 1730s and 1740s. In the Finale we again note that the second subject is in the minor; although in a shortened sonata form, this *Presto* preserves its "finale" character by the lightness of its metre (three-eight) and its overall brevity.

Symphony No. 33 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C (probably *alto*), 2 trumpets (*clarini*) in C, timpani, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is perhaps the finest of the early festive works in C with trumpets and drums. It is a Lukavec piece and the principal manuscript is from the oft-mentioned Fürnberg Collection in Budapest. The gay opening *Vivace* has a second subject of much longer proportions and importance than usual; like a similar passage in the Finale of No. 29 (*vide supra*), this subject when first announced is for the upper three string sections (bass pauses), the viola being marked *mezzo forte* to underline its new function as *fondamento*. There is another classic *fausse reprise* in the development.

The slow movement is an *Andante* in C minor, another very Baroque movement which might come from a Wagenseil symphony or an Italian master of *c.* 1750. Note the two-part writing that often occurs (*e.g.* bars 27ff., 59ff., 67ff., 93ff.); here the harpsichord *continuo* is essential.



At the time when Joseph Haydn entered his employment, Eisenstadt (Kismarton) was the permanent residence of Prince Esterházy. The Palace in Eisenstadt in the form which the poet and composer Palatine Paul Esterházy (1635-1713) gave it through commissioning its rebuilding by the Italian architect Carlone after 1660. Engraving, Budapest National Museum.



Plan dated 1760 for the reconstruction of the park at Eisenstadt in the spirit of French gardens. Budapest, State Archives.

The *Minuet* (Fürnberg MS.) reminds us, in a delightful wash of colour provided by the trumpets and drums *piano* at bars 13-15, that fifteen years ago these attractive *clarini* and *tympano* parts were not yet discovered. Since then, we have found them not only in the authentic Fürnberg MS., but also in sources at Prague, Frankfurt-am-Main and (incomplete) in a source in the Vienna Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. In the Trio, marked *pp* and for strings only, we note the cat-like syncopations of the violins over the on-the-beat security of the lower strings.

The Finale is on a much larger scale, and musically much more complex, than the similar movement in No. 32. This should warn us against dating Haydn symphonies by their stylistic content alone. Previous to the discovery of the Fürnberg Collection, we had all imagined this to be a work composed several years later than the earliest works, perhaps *c.* 1763-5. When the Budapest MS. emerged, it was clear that we were dealing with a Lukavec work (and of course there are other indices to support this dating, such as the spelling of "Minuet", which always denotes the earliest period). Thus we see that Haydn did not develop, as the Victorians imagined he did (in the light of their concept of "progress"), in a steady, unwavering line, but rather in fits and starts. No. 33 is certainly a much more sophisticated work than No. 32, but the two cannot be more than a year or two apart; both are pre-May 1761.

Symphony No. 34 in D minor. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is possibly Haydn's first Symphony in the minor key, and for it he uses the *sonata da chiesa* form once again. This opening *Adagio* suddenly introduces a new emotion into Haydn's music; the language of tragedy. His symphonies had encompassed a wide range of emotions hitherto, but not this lonely voice that we find, totally unexpectedly, in this extraordinary and expressive movement. The next movement is a fiery *Allegro* in D major whose passionate language is symbolized by the wide skips in the opening melodic material. We have mentioned above that the church sonata form includes a built-in psychological *decrescendo* in it; No. 34 is certainly of this type. The first two movements are the main sections (incidentally the *sonata da chiesa* form was still so new that in many sources the order was reversed) and the last two - also in the tonic major - are designed to settle the emotion. This tapering-off was, incidentally, a typical feature of the Baroque suite: famous examples are Bach's orchestral Overtures or Suites, of which the opening movements are by far the weightiest and musically the most substantial. Another point may have suggested itself to Haydn, too: *anno* 1765 or 1766, symphonies in minor keys were as good as unknown in Eisenstadt Castle and Haydn may have been wary as to the effect it would make; so he used the form in which the powerful opening effect would most quickly taper off. The slow-moving *Menuet*, marked *Moderato* (as Haydn was to do in No. 100's equally slow-moving minuet), is matched by a leisurely Trio with a genuine waltz accompaniment in the strings, the effect of which is deliberately disturbed by the horns' syncopations; but it is a very Austrian movement and like all its kind will not have found favour with the stern north-German critics, used to the controlled hysteria of C.P.E. Bach and the sober tradition of his great but in those days almost forgotten father. Nor will they have approved of the racy *(Presto assai)* Finale, which sounds like a perpetuum mobile and is in easy-going three-part form ("B" being a minor section). If No. 34 as a whole does not rise to the sombre heights of *La Passione*, composed a few years later (1768), it is nevertheless a very impressive work, the harbinger of things to come, or as Hubert Parry would have said. The Great Precursor.

Symphony No. 35 in B flat. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in B flat (*alto*), strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. The same alternation of light and shade deepens and enriches No. 35, which was completed - *Laus Deo* - on 1 December 1767. It reveals to us a Haydn momentarily captivated by the sunny, melodious sounds of Italy, but who at the same time cast a thoughtful eye at the rich orchestral effects of the Mannheim school. In the first movement, the luscious theme, which seemed to be so friendly in the exposition, suddenly develops a towering contrapuntal anger in the development, while the little figure , originally the basis of a transitional passage, becomes turbulently polyphonic. The whole development section becomes increasingly dark-hued and the keys tend more and more to be minor.

There is a rollicking horn figure which accompanies the first *forte* of the recapitulation; it was obviously in B flat *alto* because in some early printed sources it was simply removed as being too difficult (it goes up to sounding g2.). Actually, although we do not have very many of Haydn's symphonies in autograph (this is an exception), we do have good sources for almost all of them, so that Bowdlerized passages such as this one could be removed (or rather restored).

The *Andante*, without the wind instruments, is a gentle and warm piece in a light two-four metre with one passage which will remind Anglo-Saxon listeners of *Adeste fidelis* (bars 10ff.). There are some very original syncopations in this *Andante*, reminding us that syncopation is now becoming an integral part of Haydn's musical language - perhaps this, too, was a legacy of the Gypsies and Magyars.

The *Menuet* "Un poco allegretto" is characterized by a triplet upbeat, which gives a certain *insouciance* and light-heartness to the movement; the triplet motion is then continued and broadened in the Trio, alternating between first and second violins. The Finale has something of the swashbuckling adventurousness of the first movement, though without its darker overtones. It is a marvellous ending to one of Haydn's most interesting transitional works. A year later we shall be in the world of *La Passione* and *La Lamentatione* and Haydn's music will never quite be the same again.

H.C.Robbins Landon,
Buggiano Castello,
Christmas 1972.

Recorded at St Bonifatius Kirche, Marl.
Producer: James Mallinson
Engineer: Colin Moorfoot

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